

*Use in selection**ISRAEL*

FBIS 95

HA'AREZ WRITER ON 'DISAPPOINTMENT' OVER INTERIM ACCORD

TA111632 TEL AVIV HA'AREZ IN HEBREW 11 NOV 75 P 11 75 TA
(MOSHE ARENS COMMENTARY: "DECAY IN THE INTERIM AGREEMENT")

(EXCERPTS) TWO MONTHS AFTER THE CHAMPAGNE GLASSES WERE FILLED FOR THE SIGNING OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT, IT IS NECESSARY TO LOOK AGAIN AT THIS AGREEMENT AND TO COMPARE OUR AIMS AND EXPECTATIONS WITH THE REALITY AS IT IS DEVELOPING IN THE FIELD. ALTHOUGH THE AIMS OF THE ISRAELI NEGOTIATING TEAM AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TALKS HAVE NEVER BEEN DEFINED, CONCERNING THE BACKGROUND OF THE MANY SPEECHES OF THE PRIME MINISTER IT CAN BE ASSUMED THAT HE SAW BEFORE HIM FOUR MAIN AIMS:

THE FIRST AIM ACCORDING TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S DECLARATIONS WAS TO ADVANCE TOWARD PEACE WITH THE ARAB WORLD, OR, AT LEAST, WITH EGYPT.

THE SECOND AIM OF THE RABIN GOVERNMENT WAS TO TIGHTEN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE THIRD AIM WAS TO INCREASE MILITARY AID FROM THE UNITED STATES WHICH SHOULD BE MANIFESTED IN THE QUANTITY AND IN THE QUALITY OF THE ARMS SUPPLIED.

THE FOURTH AIM WAS ECONOMIC AID WHICH WOULD BE GIVEN TO ISRAEL GENEROUSLY AND WITH AN UNDERTAKING TO CONTINUE IT FOR A PERIOD OF FROM 5 TO 10 YEARS.

HOW DO THINGS SEEM ON "THE MORNING AFTER", AFTER WE HAVE FREED OURSELVES FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHAMPAGNE? ALTHOUGH ONLY 2 MONTHS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE SIGNING AND ONE CANNOT AS YET MAKE A FINAL ASSESSMENT, IT SEEMS THAT IF AN INTERIM ASSESSMENT WERE MADE TODAY IT WOULD NOT BE VERY ENCOURAGING.

AS FOR THE MAIN AIM OF CREATING A DE FACTO STATE OF NON-BELLIGERENCY BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL, IT IS CLEAR TODAY, IN THE WAKE OF THE SPEECHES AND DECLARATIONS BY PRESIDENT AS-SADAT IN THE UNITED STATES, THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS. EVEN IF MOST OF THE ATTENTION OF THE CITIZENS OF ISRAEL AND OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE IS TURNING TO AS-SADAT'S SATANIC REMARKS ON ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE, THEN AS-SADAT'S REMARKS BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT, ARE NO LESS IMPORTANT. THIS SPEECH IN WHICH AS-SADAT ANNOUNCED THAT IF ISRAEL DOES NOT WILLINGLY WITHDRAW TO THE 1967 BORDERS EGYPT WOULD HAVE TO USE "OTHER" MEANS, IS A CLEAR BREACH OF THE FIRST TWO CLAUSES OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT.

ISRAEL DID NOT HAVE TO WAIT LONG FOR ADDITIONAL CLARIFICATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE "UNDERSTANDINGS" WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. A FEW DAYS AFTER DR KISSINGER LEFT THE COUNTRY, IN HIS REPORT ON THE INTERIM AGREEMENT BEFORE THE U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE, HE DECLARED THAT ONE SHOULD NOT SEE IN THESE "UNDERSTANDINGS" A BINDING AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL.

ALSO WITH REGARD TO MILITARY AID WHICH WAS APPARENTLY AGREED UPON WITH DR KISSINGER, THE DISAPPOINTMENTS WERE NOT LONG IN COMING. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS NOT PREPARED TO SUPPLY THE STRATEGIC PERSHING MISSILE TO ISRAEL, AND ALSO WITH REGARD TO THE SUPPLY OF F-16 PLANES IT APPEARS THAT A CLEAR AND BINDING ANSWER FROM WASHINGTON HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVED. THESE TWO ITEMS STOOD AT THE CENTER OF THE REQUESTS THAT WERE MADE TO DR KISSINGER DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INTERIM AGREEMENT.

THE FIRST CLUE OF "SLACKENING" IN ECONOMIC AID THAT WAS APPARENTLY AGREED UPON IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WAS RECEIVED BY THE CITIZENS OF THE COUNTRY WITH THE FINANCE MINISTER'S RETURN FROM WASHINGTON A FEW DAYS AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT, WHEN, WHILE STILL AT BEN GURION AIRPORT, HE ANNOUNCED THAT HE HAD RETURNED FROM WASHINGTON "DISAPPOINTED". SINCE THEN IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT THE AMOUNT OF AID IN THE COMING YEAR WILL BE LESS THAN EXPECTED, AND WORSE, THAT OVER HALF OF IT WILL BE GIVEN AS A LOAN WHICH WILL BE ADDED TO THE HUGE NATIONAL DEBT THAT IS PLAGUING THE COUNTRY'S TREASURY. AND WHAT ABOUT THE CONTINUATION OF THE "PROMISED" ECONOMIC AID FOR A PERIOD OF FROM 5 TO 10 YEARS? IT APPEARS THAT NO ONE IN THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WANTS TO GIVE AN OPINION TODAY ON THIS SORE QUESTION.

IT IS CLEAR TODAY THAT THE REALITY OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT IS ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM THE IMAGE IN THE EYES OF THE ISRAEL NEGOTIATING TEAM AT THE TIME WHEN THEY WERE CELEBRATING THE INITIALLING IN JERUSALEM WITH DR KISSINGER. IT IS DOUBTFUL IF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WOULD HAVE ENDORSED IT IF IT HAD UNDERSTOOD THEN WHAT IT KNOWS TODAY. OF COURSE THERE ARE MANY LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM THIS DISAPPOINTING DEVELOPMENT. THE QUESTION ARISES TO WHAT EXTENT THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE CARRIED OUT AS THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN. DID THE ISRAELI TEAM PAY ATTENTION TO LEARNING THE WAYS OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES SO THAT THEY COULD ESTIMATE IN TIME THE REAL VALUE OF THE PROMISES AND "UNDERSTANDINGS" WHICH THEY RECEIVED FROM DR KISSINGER? WERE THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT COMPETENTLY DRAFTED, AND WHY WERE KEY POINTS SUCH AS THE AMOUNT AND NATURE OF THE ECONOMIC AID NOT PROMISED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE AGREEMENT?

THESE QUESTIONS AND MANY OTHERS WILL BE EXAMINED FOR MONTHS IN THE GOVERNMENT, KNESSET AND IN PUBLIC FORUMS, BUT ONE QUESTION STANDS BEFORE THE GOVERNMENT FOR DECISION IN THE COMING DAYS: ARE WE TO CONTINUE TO IMPLEMENT THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AFTER ITS BREACH BY THE EGYPTIANS A FEW WEEKS AFTER ITS SIGNING. MOST OF THE OIL FIELDS IN SINAI HAVE NOT YET BEEN TURNED OVER TO EGYPT, AND SOLDIERS OF THE EGYPTIAN ARMY HAVE NOT YET REACHED THE PASSES.

11 NOV 2030Z DD/SAJ